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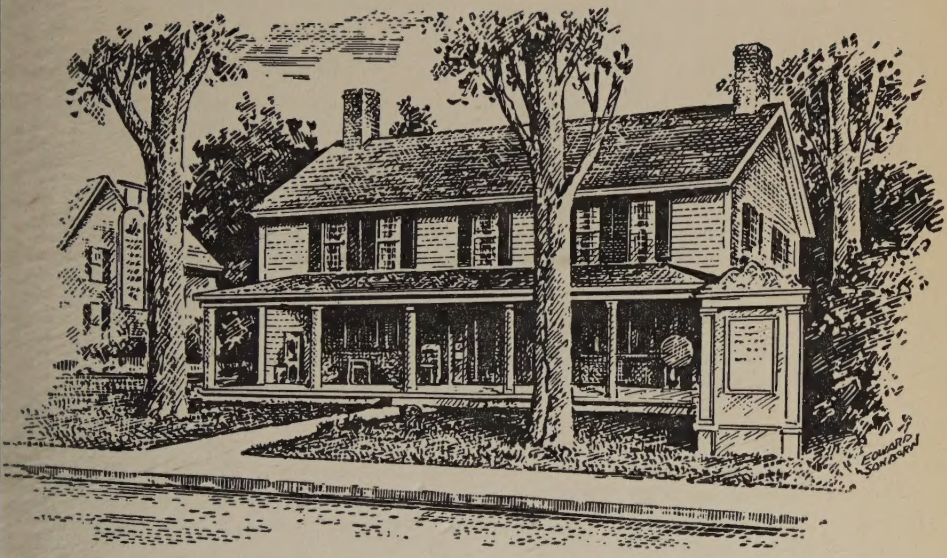

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SQUAW-MAUG: A GREEN MOUNTAIN RIVER

By WALDO F. GLOVER

ALTHOUGH no river by the name of *Squaw-maug* can be located on any map of Vermont, either ancient or modern, yet a certain river was so-called by the Indians; and that same river, now bearing a different name, still flows into the upper Connecticut from the green hills of Vermont. It is the purpose of this study to identify the Indian Squaw-maug River, and, incidentally, to trace the route of what was probably the first company of English captives to be taken over the Vermont trails to Canada. To accomplish this purpose it will be necessary to go back to the pioneer days of the Connecticut valley, to alarms and burnings, to massacres and captivities, to the dark northern forests where, figuratively speaking, a ray of sunshine seldom pierced the gloom.

The first person to use the name *Squaw-maug* in writing was Quinten Stockwell of Deerfield, Massachusetts. He mentions the name only once in the story of his captivity following the raid on Deerfield in 1677. And his story might have been lost to posterity had it not been for the Rev. Increase Mather, the versatile minister of Boston's North Church and one-time president of Harvard College. That reverend gentleman was casting about for wonder stories to include in a book he was compiling on *Illustrious Providences*. Stockwell's narrative passed every test as a wonder story, and was, therefore, preserved in Mather's most famous book which was published in Boston in 1684.[1]

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1 The full title of Mather's book is, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences, wherein an Account is given of many Remarkable and very Memorable Events, which have happened in this last Age especially in New England.* A first edition copy is in the Boston Public Library.

Another edition of Stockwell's account, evidently reprinted from Mather, appears in Richard Blome's *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, printed in London in 1687. Blome calls it "an account of one Stockwell, of Deerfield, Concerning his Captivity and Redemption." The text follows Mather closely, but gives the name Squaw-maug as "Squaro-maug" (probably a misprint). A first edition of this book, also, is in the Boston Public Library.

A second reprint is in the form of a pamphlet issued at Somerville, N. J. This is a reprint of Blome, and retains his spelling of "Squaro-maug." The editor (whose name is not given), wishing Stockwell to have a Christian name, errone-

Stockwell's captivity occurred about a year after the close of King Philip's War (1675–76)—that bloody conflict through which all New England was kept in constant terror, and in which most of the New England Indians with the notable exception of a portion of Wonalancet's Penacooks and the Rev. John Eliot's "Praying Indians" were arrayed against the colonists. In this conflict the Connecticut River towns of Hatfield and Deerfield were burned, and many of the inhabitants slain. With the capture in the spring of 1676 of Canonchet, the real Indian leader, and the death of Philip in the late summer of that year, the Indians lost courage, and peace was made. The Indians who had dwelt along the Connecticut valley in the vicinity of Deerfield, the Norwattucks[2] for instance, and perhaps other tribes, for the most part, forsook their former homes and fled to Canada where they were assimilated by the Canadian Indians. With these "River" Indians out of the picture, some of the more courageous souls among the surviving inhabitants of the river towns began their sorry task of rebuilding homes and reclaiming devastated fields.

A year passed with no indication of trouble, when suddenly on September 19, 1677, the warwhoop was heard again in Hatfield. The "River" Indians had returned with reinforcements from Canada, and the terrible scenes of carnage were re-enacted. Hatfield was attacked about midday, and Deerfield soon after sunset, and both these towns fell before the terrible avengers.[3] Many were slain as in the earlier conflict, but a new practice was here inaugurated, that of securing captives to be taken to Canada and held for ransom. Among those so taken was Quinten Stockwell of Deerfield. The captives from both Hatfield and Deerfield were herded together, and, under the lead of Chief Ashpelon, began their weary trek up the Connecticut, across what is now Vermont, and down Lake Champlain to Canada. A Greenfield historian, the Rev. John F. Moors, has said: "These sufferers from Hatfield and Deerfield were the first to leave their homes and travel through the dreary wilderness."[4] In all likelihood, therefore, *these captives were the first persons of English blood to pass through the wilderness of northern Vermont.*

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ously calls him "John." A copy of this pamphlet is in the Dartmouth College Library, and was kindly loaned the writer by Mr. Harold G. Rugg.

A third reprint of Stockwell, copied from Mather, is found in *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*, II, 462–470.

2 *His. and Pro. P. V. M. A.*, II, 460.

3 Ibid., II, 456–458.

4 Ibid., I, 324.

Stockwell's narrative is much too lengthy to be reproduced here. He goes into considerable detail concerning his treatment at the hands of the savages, his meager and unpalatable food, and the general abuse heaped upon him by his captors. Here and there, however, are brief comments on the natural features of the country through which he passed; and it is from these brief snatches of information that we find clues not only as to the route of the captives up the Connecticut River and across Vermont to Lake Champlain, but also the identity of Squaw-maug River.

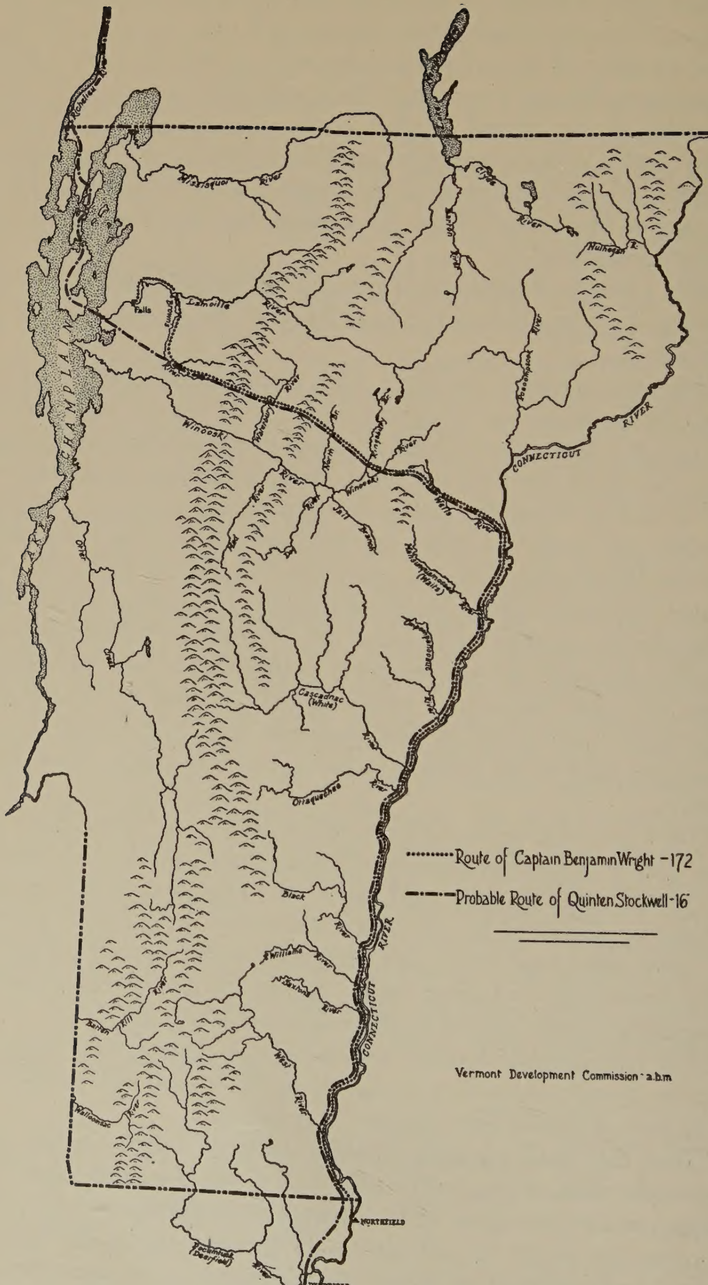
After a lengthy description of the sack of Deerfield and the varying fortunes of the captives on the early stages of the journey, Stockwell continues:

"We came at length to a place called Squaw-maug River, there we hoped for Sammon, but we came too late. This place I account to be two hundred Miles above Deerfield; then we parted into two Companies; some went one way and some went another way; and we went over a mighty Mountain, we were eight days a going over it, and traveled very hard, and every day we had Snow or Rain; we noted that on this mountain all the water ran Northward. Here also we wanted Provision; but at length met again on the other side of the Mountain, viz, on the North side of this Mountain at a River that run into the Lake, and we were then more than half a day's journey off the Lake, we staid here a great while to make Canoes to go over the Lake; here I was frozen & here again we were like to starve: . . . When we came to the Lake we were again sadly put to it for Provision; . . .

"Then they went upon the Lake, and as they came to the Lake they light upon a Moose and killed it, and staid there till they had eaten it all up; and entering upon the Lake there arose a great Storm, we thought we should all be cast away, but at last we got to an Island, . . . Upon this Island we lay still several days, and then set out again, but a storm took us so that we lay to and fro upon certain Islands about three weeks; we had no Provision but Raccoons."

After considerable detailed account of the three weeks' journey over the islands, of his own weakened condition, and of his suffering on account of chilled feet, Stockwell continues:

"Then they took me upon a Sled and carried me to the fire, and they made much of me, pulled off my wet, and wrapped me in dry Clothes, made me a good Bed. . . here I slept till towards day, and then was able to get up and put on my Clothes; one of the Indians awaked, and seeing me go, shouted as rejoicing in it; as soon as it was



LAKE CHAMPLAIN
Richelieu
Missisquoi River
Lamoille
Falls
Winooski River
Clyde River
Nulhegan R.
CONNECTICUT RIVER
Cascadnac (White)
Wells River
Ottauquechee River
Black River
Williams River
Saxtons River
West River
Walloomsac
NORTHFIELD
DEERFIELD
Route of Captain Benjamin Wright -172
Probable Route of Quinten Stockwell-16
Vermont Development Commission - a.b.m

Light I and Samuel Russell went before on the Ice, upon a River, they said I must go when I could on foot, else I should friese."

The narrative goes on for several pages, telling of the journey down the Richelieu River, of their arrival at Chambly, of the experiences of the captives among the French and Indians of Canada, and finally, of their redemption by agents sent up by authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; but enough is already given for our purpose.

Now if we examine the foregoing story for clues as to the approximate course of the trail over which Stockwell travelled from Squaw-maug to Lake Champlain, several important facts are revealed. It is evident that Squaw-maug was a fishing place where the Connecticut River trail separated into branches, 200 miles above Deerfield; that the terrain between Squaw-maug and the lake was a "mighty mountain" that took the party eight days to cross; that the mouth of the river from which they entered Lake Champlain was so near an island that the canoes were not capsized although the passage was undertaken during a great storm; and that the landing-place on the island was a considerable distance from the foot of the lake, as the party spent about three weeks among the islands before going out upon the Richelieu River.

Now in the attempt to trace the approximate course of Stockwell's journey, a wise thing to do is to compare the plain facts brought out in his story with the plain facts brought out in stories of other journeys that evidently took the same general course, and of which we have more definite information.

As a background for this comparison, it may be of interest to summarize briefly some of the significant events that occurred in the Connecticut valley from the year 1677, the date of Stockwell's captivity, to the surrender of Montreal in 1760, the date which marked the close of French rule in America. Between these two dates England and France fought four wars; namely, King William's, Queen Anne's, King George's, and, finally, the Seven Years' War known to us as the French and Indian War, but referred to by our grandparents as the "Old French War." As England and France were rivals in the colonization of North America, it was perfectly natural that every war between these powers in Europe should have its counterpart in America. Without going into details of these intercolonial conflicts, it may be observed that the French of Canada always had the aid of their Canadian Indian allies in forays against the New England frontier. These forays were many in number and cruel in character; and the trails across Vermont leading from the Connecticut River to

Lake Champlain were trod and ofttimes blood-stained by the feet of many a captive. The most notable of these forays was in 1704 during Queen Anne's War, when Hertel de Rouville led a company of about 200 French soldiers and 140 Indians up Lake Champlain, over the Winooski River trail, and down the Connecticut, against Deerfield, that ill-fated town which for the third time in its short history was reduced to ashes and its inhabitants slain or sent in captive bands over the Vermont trails to Canada.

As French and Indian raiding parties came over these trails *from* Canada, so, also, did English scouting parties go over these same trails *towards* Canada, either to rout the enemy from his lair, or to redeem captives held for ransom.

Of the various journeyings, whether of captives or scouts, we have several stories, diaries, or official reports. As is well known, the outstanding captivity stories are those of the Rev. John Williams, minister of Deerfield, and of his son Stephen, both of whom were taken in the great Deerfield Raid of 1704; but these stories are more concerned with what befell the writers and their fellow captives than with the topography of the land over which they travelled. We know, however, from bits of information given us, that they followed the river valleys closely, Mr. Williams going by the White and the Winooski to Lake Champlain; and Stephen, by the Wells and the Winooski, and neither making an eight-days' journey over a "mighty mountain" as Stockwell did. Among the records of scouting parties, however, is one which stands far above all others in clearness of detail, both as to the location of the route, and the time consumed to cover it. I refer to the journal of Captain Benjamin Wright of Northfield, Mass., in which he describes the scouting expedition from Northfield to Lake Champlain which he conducted in 1725.[5]

As has been suggested, the frontier was seldom free from attack, but conditions had become especially bad in the years just previous to Captain Wright's expedition. As a bulwark against these Indian hordes from the North, Fort Dummer had been erected in 1724 near the present site of Brattleboro—the first English settlement in what is now Vermont, but then thought to be in Massachusetts. Notwithstanding the presence of that imposing structure and other forts scattered along the frontier, the Indians continued to be a nuisance; and individual workers in the fields were victims of snipers although

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[5] Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, Mass.*, I, 444–446; also Miller and Wells, *History of Ryegate*, 3–5.

there was no concerted action against a town. To put a stop to these depredations, Captain Kellogg of Northfield and Captain Dwight of Fort Dummer were directed to make up "by volunteers or by impressment of good men" a company of 60 or 70 men.[6] Captain Benjamin Wright of Northfield, in a letter to Governor Dummer of Massachusetts, on May 29, 1725, stated that he was willing to go on that difficult undertaking if there was suitable encouragement for his men. He suggested that Gray Locks Fort at Massesquich as the "most probable place to be attained, and the most serviceable when done."[7] Accordingly, with fifty-six men equipped with arms and provisions, and with two friendly Indians as guides, he started on his notable errand.

Without quoting the journal in full or even going much into detail, it may be said that Captain Wright and his party ascended the Connecticut River from Northfield, Mass., "to the fort at the mouth of Wells River," a distance which he estimated as 153½ miles, in twelve days. There is no question as to the route, for he followed the river. His journey from the mouth of Wells River across what is now the state of Vermont to Lake Champlain is, at first sight, somewhat more complicated. But with Wright's journal and a series of Federal topographical maps before one, the route, except in very minor details, is amazingly clear. It is approximately as follows:

From the mouth of Wells River the party travelled northward, probably by a course followed fifty years later by the Bayley-Hazen Military Road, to a camping place a little south of the present hamlet of Ryegate Corner; thence northwesterly to the foot of Ricker Pond in Groton; thence somewhat more northerly to the head of Lake Groton. Here they turned northwesterly by Kettle Pond and Lye Brook, and crossed the "French" River, now known as the Winooski, at about the point in Marshfield where Lye Brook enters the river. They *did not* follow the Winooski which here flows southwesterly for several miles, but struck out for higher ground in a west-northwesterly direction, crossing Kingsbury Brook in Calais, the North Branch in Worcester at about the location of the present village in that town. Then they crossed a "vast mountain," unquestionably the Worcester Range, somewhere near Hogback Mountain. From here they travelled down a "third branch of the French River,"[8] to a camping place some miles west of Moscow. From this place they

6 Sheldon, *Deerfield*, I, 444.

7 Ibid.

8 Probably Gold Brook and Waterbury River in Stowe.

struck over the main range of the Green Mountains in a northwesterly course, where they climbed to the "top of a vast high mountain" which they named "Mt. Discovery," and from which they had a "fair prospect of ye lake." This mountain was one of the lesser peaks between Mt. Mansfield and Bolton Mountain, probably Mt. Clark or Mt. Mayo, possibly Mt. Dewey. Going down this mountain they followed a brook that flowed northward into Brown's River or a branch thereof. This river they followed westward through Underhill, Jericho, and Essex, then northward through Westford to its junction with the Lamoille River in Fairfax. Then they followed the Lamoille westward, then southward to Milton Falls, over lands now submerged by the great lake formed by the dam at Milton Village. Here they camped at the foot of the falls.

While at this camping place some of the party marched down to the lake, but finding no enemy, they all turned homeward. Evidently, Wright ran out of provisions earlier than he expected, for he made no effort to go down the lake to "Massesquich" which was really the objective of the expedition. In his report Wright apologized for letting three Indians slip through his fingers, whom he saw just below the "fort" at the mouth of Wells River, on his return journey. These Indians he had mistaken for his own friendly Indian guides and one of his own men who had earlier left the party to hunt for food. Wright was soundly criticised for his negligence.[9] Scalps were at a premium in the Bay Colony, and doubtless the authorities would have thought the expedition well worth the expense if these gruesome trophies in the form of Indian scalps had been produced. As it was, it seemed a fruitless drain on the colony's exchequer.

Now assuming that the foregoing interpretation of Captain Wright's journal is substantially correct, it is evident, even at a cursory glance, that the stories of Stockwell and Wright bear a striking similarity. Can we assume, therefore, that the river that Stockwell knew in 1677 as Squaw-maug is the very river that Wright knew in 1725, and that we know today as Wells River? To answer that question, let us consider some of the facts brought out in Stockwell's narrative with corresponding facts brought out in Wright's journal.

In the first place, Squaw-maug River was, in Stockwell's estimate, 200 miles above Deerfield. Wright estimated the distance from Northfield to Wells River as 153½ miles. The railroad distance from Northfield to Wells River is about 114 miles, or seventy-four per

9 Sheldon, *Deerfield*, I, 447.

cent of Wright's estimate. Using this comparison as a basis, the distance from Deerfield, (Stockwell's starting point), to Northfield, (Wright's starting point), would be estimated by Wright as about 23 miles, making the entire distance from Deerfield to Wells River 176½ miles, as against 200 miles according to the Stockwell estimate. When one considers that Stockwell's party was the *first* company of English captives to go over this route, and that the route was well known when Wright made his trip, a difference of 23½ miles seems trivial. Consider, also, the alternative conclusion if we assume any stream above Wells River as Squaw-maug. If the party had left the Connecticut by way of the Passumpsic the trail would have led up that river and down the Barton River to Lake Memphremagog, *and not to Lake Champlain;* and all other trails from the Passumpsic to the Nulhegan would have led towards Memphremagog. Besides, the very fact that *Passumpsic*[10] is an Indian name would rule out the possibility of its having a second Indian name. It is clearly evident, therefore, that Squaw-maug was not *above* Wells River.

Supposing, moreover, that Stockwell greatly exaggerated the distance from Deerfield to Squaw-maug, what river *below* Wells River could qualigy as Squaw-maug? The most reasonable possibilities would be Waits River and White River.

The fact that Waits River is only about twelve miles nearer Deerfield than is Wells River would not necessarily disqualify the former on the score of distance. There is likelihood, also, that the Indians often traversed the Waits River region on fishing and hunting excursions. Nevetheless, Waits River was never noted as a place where a major Indian trail led off the Connecticut trail. Furthermore, Waits River had its own Indian name "*Mahsunquamossee*,[11] and pray what use would it have for another?

Now let us consider the White River as a possibility for the name Squaw-maug. In the first place, the actual distance of 90 miles from Deerfield to White River could not by the wildest stretch of Stockwell's imagination be made to look like 200 miles, or 20 miles more than twice its actual distance! In the second place, the comparatively easy ascent along the White River by any of its branches, and the descent along the Winooski to Lake Champlain—the route followed in 1704 by the Rev. John Williams and most of his fellow captives—could hardly be the "mighty mountain" that Stockwell crossed from

10 "Posoomsook," Fairbanks, *St. Johnsbury Town*, 11.

11 Blanchard and Langdon, *Map of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire in New England*, 1761.

Squaw-maug to Lake Champlain. And lastly, the White River, as well as the Waits and the Passumpsic, had its own pretty Indian name, *Cascadnac*,[12] or "Pure Water," and why should it, also, have a second Indian name? In view of these considerations, it is evident that Squaw-maug was not *below* Wells River.

Secondly, Squaw-maug River according to Stockwell was a fishing place. On this point Captain Wright is silent. He had brought his provisions with him and had no need for fish; besides, he was in a hurry. There is plenty of evidence, however, that Wells River was a fishing place. In the *Early Annals of Wells River* written in 1849 by the Rev. J. D. Butler, we read: "The only natural attraction of the place was The Bar at the mouth of Wells River where salmon were taken." [13]

Frederick Wells, noted Newbury historian, quotes Judge Leslie as follows: "Prior to the building of high dams on the river, salmon used to run up as far as Wells River and were caught here. Undoubtedly the Indians used to come by way of Wells River from Lake Champlain and fished here for salmon in the Connecticut River, and probably met Indians of other tribes who came down the Connecticut River from the north part of the state. Their arrowheads and flints have been found on the hills north of Wells River Village, back a little from the Connecticut River."[14]

And what of the very name of Squaw-maug? Has it any significance? In the first place, it must be observed that Stockwell spelled the word as it sounded to him from the lips of the Indians, and, of course, the Rev. Increase Mather retained Stockwell's spelling. With the same or similar pronunciation, and a change in the position of the hyphen, the word could as well be *Squawm-aug* or *Squam-aug;* and when so spelled, takes on meaning. *Squam* is Abnaki for *water*, and *aug* for *fishing*.[15] On this count, therefore, Wells River qualifies as *Squaw-maug*.

Thirdly, at Squaw-maug River the trail divided. How does this bit of description fit Wells River? That Wells River was the starting point of several trails going north or west, (or the converging point of several trails coming from the north or west), has so frequently been

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12 Tucker, *History of Hartford* (Vt.), 14.
13 Hemenway, II, 954.
14 Wells, *History of Newbury, Vermont*, 157.
15 Mrs. Eva Clough Speare, Plymouth, N. H., author of books on history, genealogy, and New Hampshire folk lore, and authority on the Abnaki Indian.

stated by historians and accepted by the public that it would be a waste of words to build up an argument here. The trail used by Captain Wright up through Ryegate, Groton, and on to Lake Champlain was undoubtedly the most important in the early days. Another trail that later rivaled it in importance was the one leading up through Ryegate, Peacham, Greensboro and on to Missisquoi Bay, which was followed by the surveyors who mapped out the Bayley-Hazen Military Road of 1776. A third trail from Wells River led up the Connecticut to the Passumpsic, and from there to Memphremagog by way of Barton, while another branch led up the Connecticut to the Nulhegan, and on to Memphremagog by way of Island Pond. Indeed, Wells River was a place where the Connecticut River trail not only divided, but grew branches.

Fourthly, Stockwell's trail from Squaw-maug to Lake Champlain led over a "mighty mountain." Now it must be observed that in Vermont there is no single mountain that would require eight days in crossing. Rather, Stockwell is referring to the general mountainous condition of the trail from Squaw-maug to the lake. It is evident, therefore, that the party followed no river valley, but kept to the higher ground. Could anything be more obvious than the similarity between Stockwell's "mighty mountain" and the region over which Wright's company passed—the hills of Ryegate, Groton, and Marshfield, the "vast" mountain between Worcester and Stowe, and the "vast high" mountain between Stowe and Underhill?

Fifthly, a period of eight days was required by the Stockwell party to cross this "mighty mountain," though they "traveled hard." Captain Wright's scouting party consumed the time from August 9 to August 21 inclusive to make the journey from Wells River mouth to Milton Falls on the Lamoille, or thirteen days. Of this time two entire days and three parts of days, amounting in all three and one-fourth days, were spent in camp on account of foul weather. This leaves nine and three-fourths days of actual travel as against eight days taken by Stockwell; but this difference can be accounted for, in part at least, by Wright's roundabout way of getting to Milton Falls, namely, by his going north on Brown's River, then west, then south to the falls.

Of the sixth fact brought out in Stockwell's narrative, that the water on the "mighty mountain" ran northward, little need be said. Stockwell evidently crossed the main range of the Green Mountains where he found a brook that ran northward into Brown's River, even

as Wright did when, on going down his "vast high" mountain, he followed a brook that ran northward two miles, then northwestward into Brown's River.

Here the discussion of the similarity between the Stockwell and the Wright journeys, across Vermont, ends; but the other facts brought out by Stockwell will be considered briefly to determine by what river his party went out upon Lake Champlain.

We recall from his narrative that Stockwell's party assembled at a river that ran into the lake, that the place of assembly was approximately a half-day's journey from the lake, and that they here made canoes. So far as this information is concerned the river might have been the Missisquoi, the Lamoille or the Winooski. We have the further information, however, that when they entered upon the lake a storm arose with such intensity that they thought they should be cast away, but at last got to an island. We are also told that the party spent about three weeks "upon certain islands" before going out upon the Richelieu River. This last mentioned fact definitely rules out the Missisquoi with its northerly location. Now as between the Lamoille and the Winooski the conclusion is equally clear. The mouth of the Winooski opens out upon a wide portion of the lake, and a canoe entering from that river would be obliged to round Colchester Point and labor on the widest portion of the lake before reaching the southern point of South Hero. If a storm should come from the west, there would be an open stretch of six miles to the New York shore; if from the east, an almost equally ugly sweep from Mallett's Bay. In either case an attempt to cross would be fatal. On the other hand, the distance of less than two miles from the mouth of the Lamoille to South Hero is comparatively insignificant. To be sure, in a great storm it could be rough; but a canoe in the hands of an Indian has been known to weather rough going.

With all the foregoing facts considered, the evidence is conclusive that the route by which Quinten Stockwell traveled from Squaw-maug River over a "mighty mountain" to the lower Lamoille in 1677 was approximately the route taken by Captain Benjamin Wright in going from Wells River mouth to Milton Falls in 1725, with this difference: at the point in the town of Essex where Brown's River turns directly northward, Wright followed that river to its confluence with the Lamoille, and the Lamoille down to Milton Falls, while Stockwell, probably at that same bend in Brown's River, bore west-northwesterly, and struck the Lamoille at the point where it makes the westward turn for its final sweep to the lake.

By the same token, the evidence is conclusive that the river known to Quinten Stockwell in 1677 as Squaw-maug, and so designated by the Rev. Increase Mather in 1684, was the beautiful little river at whose mouth the scouts of Capt. Jonathan Wells, perhaps as early as 1704, built a "fort," and rechristened the stream *Wells River* in honor of their chief.[16]

Additional Notes

1. Some readers may be surprised that the Indians in Stockwell's party and the Indian guides in Wright's party did not follow the rivers more consistently in crossing Vermont. It is true that Indians did make use of rivers if they were carrying booty by canoe. In winter, also, frozen rivers made easy passage for their sledges. Without impedimenta, however, they often took short cuts over rugged regions, as in the case of the journeys here considered.

2. Quinten Stockwell first appears of record in Dedham, Mass., where on December 17, 1663, he was assessed five shillings "to pay the Countrye assessment and other publique charges." In 1664, Dedham voted him leave to cut timber from public lands for fences and building, if not found on his own land, and meanwhile to "sojourn at Samuel Parker's if he carry himself in due manner."

Stockwell seems to have been one of several to go to Deerfield where the town of Dedham had been given a grant of land in lieu of land in Natick which the Bay Colony had appropriated and given to a company of the Rev. John Eliot's "Praying Indians." At Deerfield, Stockwell boarded the young minister, the Rev. Samuel Mather; and for an unpaid board bill which had been incurred just at the outbreak of King Philip's War, the town gave Stockwell a grant of twenty acres on Green River.

After his redemption from captivity Stockwell lived in Hatfield, removing in 1679 to Branford, Conn., and in 1683 to Suffield, Conn., where he died June 22, 1714.

He married Abigail, daughter of John Ballard of Dedham. They had two children, John and Eleazar.

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16 Hemenway, II, 955; also Wells, *Newbury*, 334; also Miller and Wells, *Ryegate*, 7.

Folklore Department

Edited by LEON W. DEAN
President, Green Mountain Folklore Society

I

Vermont Sayings

(*Collected by* PROF. MURIEL J. HUGHES *of the University of Vermont, State Chairman of the American Dialect Society.*)

Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride to the devil.
'Bout as big as a mite.
No bigger'n a pint of cider.
As black as a pocket in a shirt.
Too bright for his britches.
Blood is thicker than water if it is worth anything.
He hasn't got a brain in his body nor any place to put one.
Save your breath to cool your soup.
A new broom sweeps clean; the old one knows the corners best.
He's got the bull by the tail and dassent let go.
As busy as a toad lapping lightning.
Every cask smells of the wine it contains.
Charity begins at home but should not stay there.
As plump as a biscuit.
So narrow-minded he can see through the keyhole with both eyes.
Longer'n a wet week.
Homely enough to stop a down train.
As handy as a pocket in another man's shirt.
How can a damn fool lose his mind?
It fits like a duck's foot in the mud.
As queer as a three dollar bill.
Contrary as an off ox.
Colder than Billy Hell.
As black as up-chimney.
Dryer'n a covered bridge.
Ain't nothin' so bad but it might be wuss.

II

Told in Vermont

One Piece

Horace and Roy plodded home through the cold winter dusk after an all-day fox hunt. A fox tail hung from Horace's pocket with studied carelessness, and Betsy, the long-eared black and tan hound trotted up from time to time to sniff the fruit of her labor.

"I don't see how you can set so long on a runway this cold weather," said Roy.

"Well, I bought me some new underclothes," said Horace. "Got 'em up at Morton's. He called them union suits, and they're shirts and drawers hitched right together. You better git yourself some, Roy."

A few days later, Horace arrived at Roy's home long before daylight and found Roy just pushing fine splint pieces of cedar rail into the kitchen range onto some blazing newspaper.

"Want to go huntin' today, Roy?"

"Sure," was the quick reply, as Horace knew it would be. "Wait till I put some coffee on to bile, and while it's making I'll put on my new union suit. I traded for one up to Morton's yesterday."

He dumped some coffee into an iron kettle, poured in some water out of the tea kettle and covered it. Then he went upstairs.

Soon Horace heard a distressed cry. "Horace! Horace! Come up here!"

"What's the matter?" asked Horace, as he entered Roy's bedroom.

"Look what that damn Morton did to me. I asked him to give me a union suit that would fit me, and here's what I got. The sleeves are too long and too big; the legs are too small and too short. What kind of a built man could wear this thing anyway?"

There he stood, his legs protruding from the sleeves of the suit, his arms thrust through the legs, and his head sticking out through the drop seat.

—Hale Nye, *Georgia.*

Pretty Raw

Sixty years ago in small communities, dances were put on by individuals, and it was customary for some group to prepare the mid-

night supper. Oyster stew was a favorite meal in Warren, and there was one man who always volunteered to cook the oysters. Secretly he would save out a pint or two for his own use and conceal them in a can in his coat pocket. The ever watchful sponsors found out eventually and determined to get even. How surprised he must have been when he put his hand into his pocket on the way home and found his oysters there—but the can gone.

—Marion S. Rowley, *Burlington*

The Easiest Way

A certain good-natured old Vermont farmer preserved his constant good nature, let what would turn up. One day one of his men came in with the news that one of his old oxen was dead.

"Is he?" said the old man. "Well, take his hide off and carry it down to Fletcher's. It will fetch the cash. He was always a breachy cuss."

An hour or so afterward the man came back with the news that the lineback and his mate were both dead.

"Are they?" said the old man. "Well, I took them of B to save a bad debt that I never expected to get. It's lucky that it ain't the brindles."

After the lapse of another hour the man came back again to tell him that the nigh brindle was dead.

"Is he?" said the old man. "Well, he was a very old ox. Take off his hide and take it down to Fletcher's. It's worth cash and will bring more than any two of the others."

Hereupon his wife, who was a pious soul, reprimanded her husband severely and asked him if he was not aware that his loss was a judgment of heaven upon him for his wickedness.

"Is it?" said the old fellow. "Well, if they take the judgment in cattle, it is the easiest way I can pay."

—Lawrence D. Oliver, *Montgomery*.

"Ptoo-Ptoo!"

A man whom he had seen but once or twice before as a casual cash customer appeared at the Moretown feed store one day and asked the proprietor for a barrel of flour on credit.

"I'll have to know something about you before I let you have the flour on tick," said the proprietor.

"Me name is T-i-m—Timothy C-o-r—Corrigan," came the quick reply. "I live in Fayston Upp. I've got five cows, a horse and a pair uv steer-rs. It seems a small bit uv trustin' to ask when a man has got so much."

Purchased fertilizer was almost unknown in those days, and so Mr. Corrigan did not recognize the contents of a barrel which stood in the store one day when he came in. He took a pinch of the material and tasted it.

"Pwat do yez call this stuff?" he asked.

"It's guano," said the clerk.

"And pwat is guano?"

"The dung of sea birds."

"Ptoo-ptoo!" said Tim. "Cor-rn and oats is good enough for my cattle."

—Hale Nye, *Georgia.*

III

Horsy Expressions

(*Assembled by* Beth R. Smith, *Rutland*)

Tail over the whiffletree—To be in a hurry.

A short horse is soon curried—A short job is soon accomplished.

You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink—Can't force one to do something against his will.

To take the bit in his teeth—To become headstrong and go one's own way.

Jockey for position—Maneuver for advantage.

Pony around—To step around smartly.

Feel your oats—To act lively.

Never run a free horse to death—Don't impose upon the willing.

A hot horse soon wearies—An over-enthusiastic person won't last.

Don't look a gift horse in the mouth—Don't examine a gift too critically.

Chafe at the bit—Impatient to be doing.

Change horses in the middle of a stream—To make a change in the midst of an operation.

Mares'-tails in the sky—Spreading clouds, signifying wind and rain.
Come off your high horse—Come down to earth.
Plough jogger—One who moves slowly like a plough horse.
To go by shank's mare—To travel afoot.
Pull your share of the load—To do one's share of the work.
That's a horse of a different color—It's another matter.
To team up—Form a partnership.
Get into the harness—Start action.
Kick over the traces—Get out of hand.
All lathered up—Excited over something.
Set back in the breeching—Refuse to do something.
Take over the reins—Assume control.
Money makes the mare go—Money makes possible of accomplishment.
To pull in double harness—To pull together.

IV

Chore Time—Then and Now

By Dorothea H. Patton, *Franklin*

At our farm this past summer the cows were milked with a machine and the milk strained into cans and on its way to market in a little over an hour's time. Quite different from my father's account of the milking and care of the milk on this same farm when he was a boy eighty years ago.

At that time there were about sixty cows to milk. They were driven into a milking yard at one side of the house. Every man and woman and child who could milk was asked to help. As soon as a pail was filled, it was carried down cellar and strained through a white cloth into pans which stood on racks made specially to hold them. Sometimes three hundred pans were needed to hold the milking from all the cows.

Twelve hours later, Grandmother, with the help of one of her daughters, would skim the cream from the pans of milk. They used skimmers which looked like small tin plates with holes in them. The cream was put in stone jars and left to "stand" a couple of days or

more, until it was just sour enough to make well flavored butter. Then this cream was ladled out or dipped out with a dipper into a big round wooden churn. A handle was turned which sent the churn over and over, end for end. In summer it did not take long for the butter "to come." After tiny particles of butter began to form, there was a different sound to the slush-slush of the contents of the churn. The slush-slush sound was deeper and stronger. Then it was time to stop the churn and throw in some cold water or ice to help the butter to "gather." After the butter had gathered into big yellow chunks, a plug was pulled from the side of the churn and the buttermilk drawn off. The butter was then ladled out into big wooden trays to be "worked" with wooden paddles. When the buttermilk was worked out, the butter was washed and washed again with cold water, salted, sometimes colored, with coloring made from carrots, and then ladled into wooden butter tubs. Twenty-pound tubs or tubs holding thirty or forty or fifty pounds were used. Then the tubs of butter were stored in a brick room down cellar until market day, when it would be drawn away to be sold.

The milk from which the cream had been skimmed had been made into cheese the same day it was skimmed. A large extra kitchen at the back of the house was used specially for making cheese. Here, on a wood-burning range, was a large pan similar to a sugaring-off pan for making maple sugar. The skim milk was poured into this pan, and when it became heated "half way to a boil," rennet was added. This rennet had been prepared on the farm. A calf's stomach had been removed, washed and put into a solution of lye for a few hours. When ready, it had been washed first in hot and then in cold water. Then the inner skin had been peeled off and boiled. When this liquid was added to the milk, it caused the sweet milk to curdle. This curd was strained, then salted and put into round wooden boxes which were lined with white, thin cloth called cheesecloth. Then hoops were put around the loose-sided boxes and stones piled on top of the boxes. In this way the cheese was pressed. Each cheese, a few days after it was made, was turned around in the press, the turning process being repeated every few days. At last it was taken from the press and rubbed with wax.

On market day the butter and the cheese were loaded and were drawn to St. Albans, twenty-five miles away, by the ox team.

There couldn't have been much spare time for farmers in the 1850's.

V

Vermont Miscellany

Tim Corrigan went "cross lots" to a neighbor's place one late April day and was liberally treated to cider which was "good for the time uv year."

He didn't get started home until after dark, and was a bit unsteady on his feet. A considerable strip of "black timber" separated the two places, and after some time the neighbor heard a great amount of "yelling in the woods."

"Who's there? What's the matter?" he called.

"Me name is Timothy, and I'm lost! Sind me a lantern at any cost!" was the reply.

—Hale Nye, *Georgia.*

—&—

We say: Plump as a partridge—fat as a dumpling—happy as a clam—poor as a crow—hungry as a bear—wise as an owl—happy as a tinker—big as a load of hay—tight as the bark to a tree—fleet as a deer—blue as indigo—black as night—pink as a rose—brown as a nut—cool as a cucumber—sour as a pickle—smart as a trap—sweet as honey—red as an apple—spry as a cricket—awkward as a crutch—straight as an oak—strong as a moose—mean as a skunk—slow as a snail—dry as chips—slippery as an eel—white as death—yellow as saffron—sly as a fox—brown as a nut—dumb as an oyster—gay as a lark—busy as a bee—clean as wax—proud as a peacock—clumsy as an ox.

—Dorothea H. Patton, *Franklin.*

—&—

In an old diary which I have seen, mention is made of one John Cristy, probably of Buck Hollow, who was a man of huge proportions and prodigious strength. He was an expert woodchopper, whose ax weighed seven pounds. In 1791 he was hired by Gould Buck to clear a plot of land containing forty square rods. This he cleared, rolled the logs in piles, and piled the brush for burning as one day's work. He was known to cut eight cords of wood in a day.

—Emma M. Bates, *Enosburg Falls.*

—&—

A chair that rocks with no one in it means a death in the family.

Tell your dream before breakfast and it will come true.

—&—

A baby that does not fall out of bed three times before it is a year old will be a fool.

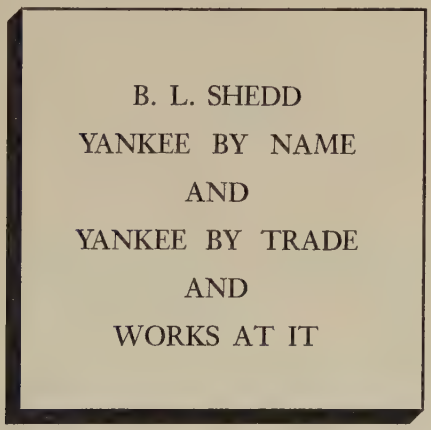
—&—

If you have rats in your wall, write a nice note to them asking them to leave. If you have a grudge against someone, suggest that they go there.

—&—

When sleeping in a house for the first time, place your shoes in the shape of a "T" and you will dream of your future husband.

—&—



For years this sign could be seen above the door of Mr. Shedd's shop in Albany. It is said that he could repair almost anything.

—Don H. Sears, *Albany*.

—&—

Here lies the body of Mary Ann,
Safe on the bosom of Abraham;
Nice for Mary Ann—
Mighty tough for poor Abraham.

—*Ascribed to a southern Vermont cemetery.*

—&—

Mount Florona, a round and high hill in Monkton, took its name from a cave. This cave is near the top of the hill. A Finney family

tradition says that a love-sick maiden by the name of Florona crawled into it and died there. The incident took place in the early history of the town.

—Don H. Sears, *Albany*.

—&—

In the early 1800's there lived in Warren one Oliver Slack, who was considered a very strong man. As the story goes, he used to gather sap in two five-pail iron kettles, carrying one in each hand.

—Marion S. Rowley, *Burlington*.

—&—

Rev. Nathaniel Stearns, Warren's first minister, received $100 a year, paid in grain.

—Marion S. Rowley, *Burlington*.

STATISTICS—1949

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM	*1949*	*1948*	*1947*
Accessions—Total recorded	335	373	480
Library	295	356	408
Museum	40	17	72
Acquisitions other than purchase			
Transfers from State Library	6	15	17
Colonial Dames Library	19	19	11
Gifts and exchanges	249	200	253
Library	207	190	204
Museum	42	10	49
Loans	10	5	32
Library	3	3	23
Museum	7	2	9
Cataloging			
Books (Titles cataloged)	165	252	289
(Volumes)	214	330	382
Manuscripts (Single)	13	19	54
(Collections)	6	12	25
Account and mss. record books	8	25	14
Maps	8	31	17
Broadsides	6	17	6
Pictures, plates, etc.	207	210	159
Records (Phonograph)		8	
Books, maps, etc. recataloged	2	3	17
Continuations			
Shelved	1,499	880	1,469
Analyzed for the catalog	166	366	389
Recataloged		3	4
Cards typed for the continuation checklist	11	38	39
Cards typed for the Union Catalog	153	194	249
Cards filed in VHS catalog	2,928	12,636	6,624
Museum exhibits cataloged	3	3	40
Labels written	35	119	66
Special exhibits prepared	7	6	4
Uncataloged items listed (pending more complete cataloging later)			
In storage	4	7	6
(Approximate number of pieces)	43	756	280
Pamphlets, mss., ephemeral material (entered on single slip—unclassified)	86	263	288
Continuations—unclassified	9	37	27
Books, pamphlets, mss., etc., accessioned or otherwise counted; entered in catalog on single slip; classified by subject; shelved or filed	9	58	133
Newspaper clippings	4,451	4,245	4,167
Dealers' and publishers' catalogs checked	350	429	515
GENERAL			
Attendance	27,207	17,688	29,817

Recorded use of books	29,830	28,596	26,102
Inter-library loan (included in totals)	36	72	38
Borrowed from other libraries	9	23	199
Correspondence sent out	19,286	3,892	4,807
Letters (included in totals)	2,029	1,565	1,552
Bills, circulars, *News and Notes*	17,257	2,327	3,255
History queries answered by mail (included in letters)	27	43	100
Genealogy queries answered by mail	39	27	70
Packages mailed	3,379	1,444	1,335
News releases	52	24	33
Approximate total number of copies of releases sent out	478	194	325
Radio broadcasts prepared	45	37	3
Total number of broadcasts including transcriptions	133	37	3
Cartoons contracted for	26		
Total number used by 5 newspapers	130		
Membership			
Total, December 31	889	715	652
New members	211	122	30
Deaths	5	7	18
Resigned or dropped	32	52	33
Net gain or loss	174	63	−21
Publications			
Printed			
*Vermont Quarterly**	3,000**	3,880	3,400
Peacham History		500	
Collections of the Vermont Historical Society	86		
Growth of Vermont Series:			
Social Ferment	214		
Migration from Vermont	203		
Vermont in Quandary	500		
The First Medical College in Vermont	400		
Sales of V.H.S. Publications***			
Vermont Quarterly	72	27	158
Books	676	274	201

*Distributed largely to members and exchanges free of charge.

**Includes *Dake of Castleton*, a reprint.

***Does not include complimentary and review copies, *Vermont Story* sales of which there were 2,875, or *Vermont Bookshelf* sales of 173.

COMMENTS

Increased activities in other fields, as exemplified in the statistical report by the high attendance figure (until October larger than in 1947 the previous legislative year), use of books, correspondence, mailing of bills, society literature and publications, membership increase, all have contributed of necessity toward keeping library figures down. Staff members accustomed to assisting with the library work were unable, because of the pressure of these other duties, to give as much time to it as usual. The accomplishment was, however, greater than would appear from the report, for current acquisitions all received some care and processing. Because the work started on them was incomplete, figures for them could not be included in this report.

Manuscripts sorted and arranged by Miss Jessie Campbell, the Society's volunteer worker, if cataloged, would bring the total up even with or beyond that of last year. Likewise, if other work had been completed on things in process, there would be about 100 more continuations analyzed, about 2000 more cards in the catalog, and about two large cartons of books and pamphlets added to the shelves over and above the 165 reported.

The arrival of the "Merci" train in February with gifts thereafter displayed in the Society rooms brought an influx of school children and other visitors greater than the usual number even for a legislative year, and which continued through the record breaking legislative session and barely came to an end when the tourist season started with still more visitors. Nor does the report indicate the time spent by staff members in unpacking, displaying and partly distributing the French gifts.

Other special exhibits were prepared by Mrs. Guy B. Horton with the assistance of the staff. September saw the arrival of the American Association for State and Local History for its annual meeting, guest of the Vermont Historical Society, though meeting in Burlington. Special exhibits were prepared for this meeting by the Educational Assistant.

The same month brought the publication of the first issue of the Society's Bulletin *News and Notes*. The mailing of this monthly bulletin and circulars about the Vermont Bookshelf and the Society's own publications accounted largely for the increase in the number of bills and circulars sent out.

Respectfully submitted,

Clara E. Follette
Assistant to the Director

SELECTED LIST OF ACQUISITIONS

Barrett, John. Papers. MS. Dr. John Barrett, Grafton, United States Ambassador to Siam.

Bible. *The Holy Bible*. Berwick, John Taylor, 1793. Family record of Alanson Green of Williamstown.

Bishop, J. Leander. *A History of American Manufactures*. Philadelphia, Edward Young, 1868. 3v.

Green, Harriott Smalley. Diary, March 1844 to March 1845. Wife of Alanson Green.

Kellogg, Daniel. Papers of Daniel Kellogg, son-in-law, and Jonathan Dorr Bradley, son, of William Czar Bradley of Westminster. MS.

Moretown. School District No. 1. Record. MS.

Paine, Charles. *Memoirs*. 206p. Typescript Carbon.

White, Captain H. N. Account book. MS. A Lake Champlain Captain.

Willard, Charles W. Papers, 1840–1875. MS. U. S. Congressman from Vermont.

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Books and Pamphlets

Coblentz, Catherine Cate. *The Blue Cat of Castle Town*, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1949. 123p.

Colburn, Thelma Spaulding, comp. *Vermont Food as We Like It*, Barre, Vt., Modern Printing Co., 1949: 200p.

Dean, Leon W. *Royalton Raid*, New York, Rinehart & Co., 1949. 241p.

Fisher, Dorothy Canfield. *Four-square*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949. 236p.

Harris, Joseph N. *History of Ludlow, Vermont*, Charlestown, N. H., 1949. 237p.

Hill, Ralph Nading. *The Winooski*, New York, Rinehart & Co., 1949. 250p.

Holbrook, Stewart. *America's Ethan Allen*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1949. 95p.

Moore, H. Parker. *A Life of General John Stark of New Hampshire*, New York, 1949. 539p.

Royce, Edmund Homer. *Highlights in the History of St. Albans, Vermont*. 12p.

Rutland Railroad Company. *Historical Sketch of Rutland Railroad Company*, 1949. 21p.

Tomasi, Mari. *Like Lesser Gods*, Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. 289p. Novel about Graniteville.

Trapp, Maria Augusta. *The Story of the Trapp Family Singers*, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949. 309p.

Van de Water, Frederic. *Catch a Falling Star*, New York, Duell, Sloan & Pierce. 362p. Historical novel, Haldimand negotiations.

Magazines

Angwin, Perc. "Young Vermonters Fish," *Vermont Life*, v. 3, no. 3, Spring 1949. p. 22–25.

Bassett, Thomas. "Peacham: the Story of a Vermont Hill Town, by Ernest L. Bogart." Review. *American Historical Review*, v. 54, no. 3, April 1949. p. 694–695.

Baukhage. "Vermont Goes to Washington," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 2, Winter 1949–50. p. 8–11. "Bill" Hassett of Northfield.

Booth, Luther S. "Woodland County," *Vermont Life*, v. 3, no. 3, Spring 1949. p. 10–15. Essex County.

Brinton, Crane. "Green Mountain Farm, by Elliott Merrick," Review. *The New England Quarterly*, v. 22, no. 3, September 1949. p. 429–430.

Brinton, Crane. "Peacham. The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, by Ernest L. Bogart." Review. *The New England Quarterly*, v. 22, no. 3, September 1949. p. 403–405.

Brinton, Crane. "The Winooski: Heartway of Vermont, by Ralph Nading Hill." Review. *The New England Quarterly*, v. 22, no. 3, September 1949. p. 427–428.

Brown, Harriet Connor. "Burlington Backgrounds," *Palimpsest*, v. 30, no. 4, April 1949. p. 97–106. Burlington, Iowa, named for Burlington, Vt.

Buck, William Alvadore. "Ethan Allen," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 2, Winter 1949–50. p. 34–37, 57.

Budd, John F. "Merry Christmas from Norman Rockwell," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 2, Winter 1949–50. p. 26–27. Christmas cards by the Vermont artist.

Burdick, Usher L. "Recollections and Reminiscences of Graham's Island," *North Dakota History*, v. 16, no. 1, January 1949. p. 5–29. Son of Azias Warren Burdick, born Westford, Vt.

Burkhard, Hans. "Hobnails and Holidays," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 1, Autumn 1949. p. 14–17. Long Trail.

Campbell, Alfred S. "New Roots in the Soil," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 1, Autumn 1949. p. 9, 56. Vermont newcomers.

Campbell, Alfred S. "Sugar House," *Vermont Life*, v. 3, no. 3, Spring 1949. p. 48–49.

Case-Derick, photographers. "Country Ski Dance," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 2, Winter 1949–50. p. 58–59.

Chatfield, Violet. "Middlebury Farmers' Field Day," *Vermont Life*, v. 3, no. 4, Summer 1949. p. 34–35.

Cole, Isabel L. "The Romance of the Land Grants in Shaftsbury, Vermont," *Mattesonian*, v. 2, no. 9, January 1949. p. 3.

Coleman, Abner W. "Production for Winter," *Vermont Life*, v. 4, no. 2, Winter 1949–50. p. 54–57. Skis.

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